

Civilian Lawyer Vs. Military Brass

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21 Cities in South Order Desegregation of Buses

By Fred Halstead

JAN. 9—The working class weapon of mass action is sparking the spread of bus integration across the South. So far, in addition to Montgomery, Ala., 21 cities in five Southern and border states have ended bus segregation in compliance with the November 1956 Supreme Court decision. This decision, and its enforcement in Montgomery, were the direct result of the historic year-long boycott of Jim Crow buses by the 50,000 Negroes of the Alabama capital.

Leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association—the mass organization of the Montgomery desegregation fighters—have called on other Southern Negro leaders to attend a strategy meeting in Atlanta Jan. 10 "in an effort to coordinate and spur the campaign for integrated transportation in the South." "We have no choice," said MIA president Rev. Martin Luther King, "but to delve deeper into the struggle." Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council and Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, prominent in the Birmingham bus protest movement, joined in the conference call.

The meeting will take up the

questions of securing voting rights for Negroes and enforcing the Supreme Court decision on desegregated schools as well as the bus integration fight.

An atmosphere of militancy for the conference was provided when, today, about 100 Atlanta Negro ministers began sitting up front in buses in the opening move of a "love, law, and liberation" movement in the Georgia capital. The general Negro public was urged to wait until further notice before joining the action. Atlanta's metropolitan population is 900,000.

The 21 cities which have promised compliance with the Montgomery-won Supreme Court decision are listed by the Southern Regional Council, an interracial fact-finding organization, as: Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith and Hot Springs, Ark.; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham and Winston-Salem, N.C.; Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg and Roanoke, Va.; San Antonio, Corpus Christi and Dallas, Texas; and Knoxville, Tenn.

In many of these cities, the council said, mixed seating is now common while in some, in spite of the fact that the segregation

BULLETIN

JAN. 10 — Racists are resorting to violence on an increased scale to try to stop the spread of the Negroes' organized desegregation movement. Today, in Montgomery, six dynamite blasts heavily damaged four Negro churches and the homes of two ministers. Fortunately, no one was hurt.

Laws have been officially dropped, the tradition of extra-legal intimidation has still maintained partial bus segregation. The key question for these cities, as well as for those where officials have continued to defy the court decision, remains that of enforcing and securing the hard-won legal victory.

An example of this problem facing the Southern freedom fighters, and their determination to meet it is contained in a Jan. 2 news release from the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council, the mass organization of Negroes in Florida's capital. "The whites," says the release, "have organized a campaign to call the leaders [of the integration movement] and the Inter-Civic Council office on the phone every few minutes and hang up immediately and especially during the night. These hecklers have caused a few of us a little irritation, but everyone seems to be taking it calmly and asking the whites to pray for us."

"These moves," continues the news release, "followed several events this week. The Negroes voted unanimously to return to the buses upon receipt of the federal court order outlawing segregation on public carriers. The Negroes began a successful 'Ride the Bus Campaign Democratically.' Some of the white papers implied that only the leaders of the ICC were riding the buses, however, this is far from the truth."

A long list of "legal" moves then made by the racist city officials—including the arrest of many bus drivers who were not enforcing the illegal segregation law—is cited and the news bulletin continues: "Early in the morning on Jan. 1, some rabble rousers fired upon the grocery store of Cornelius and Dennis Speed. We believe that it was a matter of a mistaken identity. The chairman of the 'Ride the Bus Campaign Democratically,' Dan Speed, an active leader in the ICC owns a grocery store. His store was a discharge center during the operations of the car pool."

Senate Votes To Retain Filibusters

By George Lavan

The U.S. Senate on Jan. 4 voted 55-38 to make any effective civil rights legislation impossible for the next two years. This was accomplished by voting to retain Rule 22 under which the Southern Democrats can filibuster to death any bill they really want to stop.

The fight to amend Rule 22 liberal Democrats have been promising since the election returns revealed major Negro dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party, turned out to be a fight in name only. In fact it was carried on not only without harsh feeling on either side but even without harsh words. The whole show took place in the frame of a "unanimous consent" agreement. Senate Majority leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) got all the Senators from liberals Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Douglas (D-Ill.) to white-supremacists Eastland (D-Miss.) and Talmadge (D-Ga.) to agree unanimously to his plan. This was to permit Sen. Anderson (D-N.M.) to introduce a motion to consider the Senate rules; immediately thereupon Vice-President Nixon, who was presiding over the Senate, would recognize Johnson's motion to table (kill) Anderson's motion, however, by unanimous vote the Senate would postpone the motion to table for six hours during which there could be debate on the rules.

The plan worked perfectly and as Arthur Krock, Washington columnist of the New York Times, pointed out (Jan. 4) there was something in it for everybody. First, the white supremacists were assured of retaining the filibuster. The Northern Democrats were assured of sufficient time to make speeches for the record to refurbish their tarnished civil-rights reputations. Vice-President Nixon was pleased because it meant he could give merely an "advisory" opinion on Rule 22 rather than an official chairman's ruling. Those liberal Republicans who profited by the recent switch of Negro voters from the Democratic Party or who have designs on the Negro vote were pleased because they too could make the record as supporters of civil rights at no cost.

Finally, Lyndon Johnson, father of the whole scheme, was pleased because he had kept the civil rights issue from embittering the Northern and Southern wings of his party; he had excellent reason for believing

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Brass Plans Atomic Arms for Mid-East

Imperialist Policy Makers



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) and Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, confer with House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Thomas S. Gordon (D-Ill.) before going behind closed doors on President Eisenhower's proposed "doctrine" of Wall Street domination of the Middle East. Dulles refused to define at a public hearing what countries are covered by the Administration's Middle East policy. The proposed area is reported to include Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika in Negro East Africa. (See "Negro Struggle" on page 4.)

Dulles Maps New Wall St. 'Boundaries'

By Myra Tanner Weiss

JAN. 9—The world's fear of a new atomic war was intensified last week with the announcement that U.S. Marines in the Mediterranean area were armed with nuclear weapons. While the U.S. has insisted on equipping NATO forces in Europe with weapons readied for atomic warheads, this is the first time that atomic tactical weapons have appeared in an area actually torn with war.

On Jan. 5, Eisenhower, too anxious for war-making powers in the Middle East to wait for his regularly scheduled appearance before Congress, opened his speech by saying that "it is well to remind ourselves that our basic national objective in international affairs remains peace."

Remembering "peace objectives" was undoubtedly difficult on the heels of revelations, Jan. 8, by Marine commander General Randolph M. Pate that U.S. Marines had secretly been shipped last October into the Mediterranean area. Pate, let it be known that Marines moved into the "Egyptian Harbor of Alexandria" with tanks and artillery ready to fight their way to Cairo "if necessary," says the Jan. 4 New York Times. Pate also revealed that Marines were equipped with atomic weapons.

SECRET DIPLOMACY

The American people have no voice in the preparations of the Administration for war. In addition, they do not even know what these preparations are. The curtain of secrecy that veils the foreign policy of the Administration has extended so far it even evoked a protest from one of the "me too" Democrats supporting the Dulles line.

Congressman Wayne L. Hays from Ohio walked out of a session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday where Dulles was explaining the need for the Eisenhower Doctrine. Stating that "the Russians know more about the mistakes we've made in the Middle East than the American people do," Hays protested that "there's entirely too much executive session around here."

One of the reasons for the conspiratorial secrecy of an executive session is the definition of the area that is included in the term "Middle East." Just what nations in this area are likely to need the unasked-for "protection" of U.S. atom-powered troops is not for the American people to know. Nor evidently are the nations to be "protected" to know.

It is likely that even Dulles doesn't know. The problem for U.S. Big Business is still a very fluid one. First, some nations in this area—Iraq, Algeria, Israel, etc.—are still under the "protection" of Britain or France. Then, although Arab national independence movement has still not challenged capitalist and feudal property relations, there are indications that it will.

The Administration has no objections to the nationalist movement pushing out its imperialist rivals. But it wants to make certain that the revolution doesn't move to claim for the people of the Mid-East the wealth that exists in that area. This is the real reason for the Eisenhower Doctrine, and at this point it requires a great deal of military flexibility.

SWP Committee Outlines Tasks of Socialists in U. S.

Meeting in plenary session in New York, Jan. 3-5, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party devoted its sessions to an analysis of the major international developments, a discussion of the present situation in the radical movement, a review of the activity of the SWP and plans for stepped-up party work in the days ahead.

The committee adopted a statement on the situation in the Middle East which was published in last week's issue of the Militant. A statement by the committee on the political revolution in the Soviet orbit is published in the current issue.

The meeting of the National Committee reflected the present strengthened position of the SWP. The rising political revolution in the Soviet orbit and the major setbacks suffered by imperialism at the hands of the colonial revolution have provided major confirmations of the SWP program.

REGROUPMENT QUESTION

The committee discussed extensively the present sentiments for regroupment which exist in virtually all sectors of the radical movement and which came primarily as a result of the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The committee declared that the SWP will lend its full efforts to a regroupment of the American left that will lead to a strengthened revolutionary socialist movement. Discussing the various views on regroupment expressed by other radical tendencies, the committee expressed its opposition toward any moves to exclude the members of the Communist Party from participation in the present regroupment discussion.

Reviewing the discussion that has taken place so far between the various radical groups, the committee concluded that the present stage of discussion has demonstrated the need for a clarification of the programmatic basis for a left regroupment.

The organizational reports presented to the committee detailed the present growth of interest in the SWP program and activities. The report on the SWP's recent Presidential election campaign revealed that this campaign produced the most solid results of the three Presi-

dential races that the SWP has now participated in.

There were over 2,300 persons in 47 states who responded to the SWP radio and TV programs. Of these, 125 have subscribed to the Militant. The Militant's campaign in support of the Socialist Workers ticket resulted in over 500 new subscribers for the paper. Also as a result of the campaign the number of active sympathizers of the SWP has grown significantly and a number of these have already joined the SWP.

The marked growth of interest in the views of the SWP was also reflected in the report that the sale of Marxist books and pamphlets had increased in 1956 almost 100% over the previous year. The writings of Leon Trotsky have been especially in demand.

The committee also noted that the SWP campaign had provided a significant opportunity for socialist unity in action. The formation by Vincent Hallinan and Clifford T. McAvoy of the Independent Committee for Dobbis and Weiss, the active campaigning for the SWP ticket by numerous other members of the Progressive party, and the support extended by individual members of virtually all the radical

tendencies contributed much to an effective independent socialist campaign.

The committee endorsed a program of action designed to encourage and strengthen the regroupment process, to reach the newly awakening layers of workers and youth with the socialist program and to lend maximum support to the epic struggle of the Negro people for equality.

The National Committee also voted to convene a national convention of the Socialist Workers Party during the month of May.

JAN. 11—Soviet and Hungarian troops occupied a number of factories on Csepel Island, biggest industrial concentration in Hungary. This action followed wholesale resignations of members of Workers Councils. According to John MacCormack in the Jan. 10 New York Times, "The reason for the resignation of the Csepel council was said to be that the government had deprived it of all authority. Rather than become a powerless adjunct of the state apparatus it decided to dissolve."

Anti-U.S. Mayor Elected In Okinawa Capital City

TOKYO, Jan. 1—On Dec. 25, a mayoralty election took place in Naha, a city of 130,000, in Okinawa. It is the capital of the Ryukyu island chain, currently governed by U.S. military authorities. In the election, Kamejiri Senaga, Secretary of the Ryukyu People's (Communist) Party was elected. The vote was as follows: Senaga 16,600; S. Nakama (Conservative), 14,600; and T. Nakamoto (Conservative), 9,600.

All inhabitants of Ryukyu are taking part in a bitter struggle against enlargement of American air bases. Moreover, the working people are demanding that Ryukyu be returned to Japan.

Workers and peasants support Senaga and his party because they championed the demand for reintegration with Japan and did

not surrender to U.S. military pressure. Senaga's election can therefore become the starting point for an anti-imperialist mass movement in Ryukyu—a movement that will surely find support in Japan.

U.S. military authorities in Ryukyu have shown a very candid discontent with the election results. First, they have stopped a grant of financial assistance to Naha city authorities. Then, it is expected that the U.S. brass hats will declare the People's Party illegal or will invalidate Senaga's election.

The official leadership of the Japanese labor movement, including the Japanese Social Democratic Party and the General Council of Trade Unions, has indicated that it will support Senaga as the legally-elected mayor of Naha.

A "People's" Inauguration



Inaugural stands are being readied for the swearing-in of President Eisenhower for his second term. The stands will cost \$133,000. The President has announced that this year there will be four inaugural balls instead of the customary two. Participation in the three-day inaugural celebration will cost an estimated \$619 per couple.

Socialist Workers Party Statement On Polish and Hungarian Revolutions

The following is the text of a statement, The Hungarian and Polish Revolutions and the Crisis of Stalinism, adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party at its meeting, Jan. 3-5.

The Hungarian and Polish revolutions have again demonstrated the leading role of the working class in the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism. The world struggle for socialism, which has experienced a rapid acceleration since World War II, has now been thrust forward with renewed power.

The Hungarian and Polish events have confirmed the view taken last April by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party that a new stage has opened in the Russian revolution. The mortal crisis of Stalinism, which became manifest at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was interpreted by the Committee as a sign of the intensity of the mass unrest and pressure, both in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries dominated by the Kremlin bureaucracy. The developments in Hungary and Poland, which brought the masses into the political arena on a nation-wide scale and lifted the struggle to a higher level, now make it possible to draw new and important conclusions regarding the further course of the death agony of Stalinism and the rebirth of revolutionary socialism as a mass movement.

The general reasons for the renewed motion of the masses in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were explained in the April resolution of the National Committee of the SWP as follows:

The victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, due primarily to the planned economy, altered the relation of

world forces to the disadvantage of capitalism. The expansion of the Soviet Union into Eastern Europe broke the isolation that had fostered the growth of the parasitic caste in the Soviet Union. The victory of the Yugoslav and Chinese revolutions ended the long series of defeats of revolutions which had further strengthened Stalinism. The repeated revolutionary upsurges in the colonial world weakened world imperialism still more and added to the forces favoring rebirth of revolutionary socialism as a mass movement. Within the Soviet Union the unparalleled rate of expansion of the means of production, again due primarily to the planned economy, increasingly shifted social relations in favor of the growing proletariat. Russia's backwardness, another source of Stalinist strength, began to give way with the advance of technology and education. The Soviet Union, moving ahead of the West European powers, even broke America's monopoly in atomic energy. These happenings undermined the foundations of Stalinism, a change that was bound to become reflected sooner or later in the minds of the masses of the Soviet orbit.

Thus, as Trotsky long ago foresaw, the successes of planned economy at home and the advances of the revolution abroad sharpened the internal contradictions of Soviet society, bringing them to explosive political expression against the totalitarian regime of the bureaucratic oligarchy that usurped power following the death of Lenin.

The post-Stalin policy of granting concessions to the masses and correcting the most monstrous abuses was evidence that Stalin's heirs recognized the gathering resistance to their rule. But contrary to the expectations of the Kremlin the concessions raised the revolutionary

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... SWP on Polish and Hungarian Revolutions

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spirit of the masses and brought them closer to open revolt. The first evidence of this was a widespread strike movement in Eastern Europe that culminated in the uprising of the East German workers in June 1953. Use of violent repressive measures likewise did not halt the movement of the masses, for the East German uprising, put down by military force inspired dramatic strikes in the prison camps inside the Soviet Union. In consequence of this ferment, the Kremlin decided to go even further in granting legal and economic concessions. In an attempt to associate themselves with the popular hatred of Stalinism, the top bureaucracy under Khrushchev's leadership at the Twentieth Congress opened an attack on the Stalin cult and raised the slogan of "Back to Lenin."

"This set in motion forces that will inevitably pass beyond the control of the bureaucracy," the April resolution declared; "for the Congress pronouncements on Stalin will become a banner for the masses in marching forward to completely cleanse the Soviet Union of the hated Stalinist system. It legalizes their demand for an end to Stalinism and a return to Lenin. They will know how to put this significant concession to full advantage. The Congress thus marks the beginning of a new, profoundly revolutionary stage in the Soviet Union."

The correctness of this estimate was quickly confirmed. On June 28 the workers of Poznan, Poland, went out on a general strike that grew into an uprising. Their action was symptomatic of the popular urge to extend the concessions made by the bureaucracy and to convert the paper promises about a return to Lenin into living reality.

Not a "Self-Reform" Movement

The pattern of events was much the same as in the East German uprising three years before. The workers' struggle began with economic demands; and, in face of resistance from the regime, was converted into a political uprising, culminating in the demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops; that is, freedom from the grip of the Kremlin bureaucracy. At first the Polish Stalinist leaders acted like their East German counterparts. They slandered the rebellious workers as "fascist" agents and their rebellious actions as "imperialist-inspired." As in East Germany they relied primarily upon the Soviet Army with its tanks to crush the uprising.

Despite the tough line of the Kremlin, fresh concessions, much more extensive than in the case of East Germany, were won in Poland. Stalin's frame-up system having been renounced by Khrushchev the trials of participants in the uprising could not be converted into frame-ups and window dressing for a mass purge. Instead, the defendants were able to reveal in open court how the police had tortured them into "confessions" following arrest; they were able to voice their feelings about the conditions that had driven them to revolt. Some were freed and others given relatively light sentences. The nationwide support of the Poznan uprising forced the regime to acknowledge that the Poznan workers had been slandered and that they had just grievances.

This restraint on the part of the Polish regime was not evidence of any Stalinist "self-reform." It was occasioned by fear that the Poznan events might touch off a general revolutionary conflagration that could spread throughout Eastern Europe and into the Soviet Union itself. The Stalinist bureaucrats decided to make another public display of anti-Stalinism and deal gently with the heroes of Poznan. But the concessions following the Poznan uprising represented a significant gain by the Polish workers, a by-product of their revolutionary struggle, and it inspired them to press for more.

In a bold move, the leadership of the Polish Communist Party deposed the Kremlin proconsul Rokossovsky. They replaced him on October 21 with Gomulka, a popular symbol of resistance to Moscow's rule because of his long years of imprisonment on charges of "Titoism." Gomulka demanded a greater measure of independence from Moscow, while the workers began mobilizing for a struggle. Stalin's heirs, including the top generals, flew to Warsaw to put pressure on the new government. Gomulka responded by keeping the armed Polish workers informed of the hour-to-hour developments. Minor clashes occurred between Soviet and Polish troops. In face of this resistance, which marked the high point to date in the Polish revolution, Khrushchev and Co. backed down, but on their return to Moscow they began mobilizing troops on the borders of Poland.

Hungary Aided Polish Revolution

The outbreak of the Hungarian revolution cut across these developments. If Stalin's heirs had thought of resorting to force in Poland, the experience in Hungary changed their minds. They made their peace with the Gomulka regime, granting new and significant concessions although these are far from meeting the demand of the Polish workers for independence and equality in a free association of the Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China.

The Polish revolution thus made big gains, in part due to the struggle of the Hungarian workers. It is now gathering fresh power for the next advance along the road of political revolution.

In Hungary the pattern visible in the East German and Poznan events appeared again, but on a greatly magnified scale. Much that was previously implicit now became explicit, above all the power of the working class and the forms its struggle tends to take against the bureaucracy. Just as the preceding uprisings were previews of the Hungarian revolution, so the Hungarian revolution is a preview of the coming struggle in the Soviet Union, a struggle in which we can confidently expect the appearance of what was lacking in the Hungarian revolution — a revolutionary socialist party capable of guaranteeing success.

The Hungarian revolution was inspired by the October 21 success of the Polish workers in ousting Rokossovsky and putting Gomulka in power in Warsaw. On the following day, October 22, students and intellectuals in Budapest, most of them members of the Communist Party, staged meetings demanding the restoration of Nagy to the premiership and the withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops.

The Siege of Kilian Barracks



The fierce resistance of the Hungarian people to the Kremlin invasion was dramatically symbolized by the five-day siege of Kilian Barracks in Budapest. The central barracks of the Hungarian Army was held by the soldiers under the leadership of a Revolutionary Military Committee against heavy Soviet attack from Oct. 23 to Oct. 28. This photograph was taken after the revolutionary forces were finally overwhelmed and driven from the barracks.

The revolutionary committee which led the Kilian Barracks defense issued a manifesto Oct. 23 calling for "the creation of a Hungarian socialism on a really democratic basis." Leading the revolutionary soldiers at Kilian Barracks was General Pan Maletier, a long-time Hungarian Communist Party member who became a national hero because of his courageous role in the underground struggle against the Nazi occupiers during World War II. The Revolutionary Military Committee, after the Oct. 23 Kremlin attack, demanded of the Nagy government that Maletier be made Minister of Defense, and Nagy complied. He was arrested, Nov. 4, by the Soviet forces while negotiating for withdrawal of Russian troops. His present fate is unknown.

The next day, October 23, parades began. Demonstrators appeared at the Budapest radio station to ask that their demands be broadcast. Security police gave a typical Stalinist answer. They arrested the delegation. As the aroused crowd moved forward, the police opened fire. This touched off the revolution.

Subsequent developments can conveniently be divided into three stages: (1) the Nagy regime and the armed uprisings; (2) the crushing of both the Nagy regime and the armed uprisings; (3) the struggle between the Kadar regime and the Workers Councils.

(1) In face of the fighting in the streets, the hated Gero government sought to combine concessions with repressive action. On the one hand, it installed Nagy as Premier; on the other, it invited Soviet occupation troops into Budapest to put down the demonstrators. This was in accordance with the general policy followed by Stalin's heirs since the dictator's death.

Nagy at first collaborated with Gero. He called on the insurgent people to disperse. But as Soviet tanks began rolling into Budapest October 24, the masses took up arms in self-defense, spearheading the mass insurrection. Nagy responded with appeals to lay down arms and surrender on the promise of amnesty.

The refusal of the Hungarian masses to place confidence in Nagy demonstrates that they trusted no one in the political arena but themselves. This is the classic hallmark of popular revolution.

Three more equally significant things happened — the Hungarian army went over to the revolutionists, the Soviet troops began manifesting sympathy with their cause, and on October 25 the workers launched a general strike.

Role of Workers Councils Decisive

Most important, the masses began organizing themselves. Councils — organs of workers' power — appeared on a nation-wide scale in the factories, the army and neighborhood areas. Dual power thus arose on the foundations of socialized property. Although capitalist restorationist elements maneuvered for advantageous positions in government, they were an insignificant force in contrast to the working class and its allies. The workers proved that in a revolutionary showdown they could crush all attempts at capitalist restoration just as they could defeat the native Stalinist bureaucracy, steering the political revolution on its true course toward the establishment of workers democracy. It was to preserve bureaucratic rule that the Kremlin intervened in Hungary, using the presence of restorationist elements as a pretext for its brutal assault on the working class.

In the absence of a revolutionary socialist party, the Workers Councils lacked the clear leadership and the clear declaration of aims that would have made the uprising unequivocal from the beginning. Nonetheless, all the available evidence shows that the working class, which was the decisive power, was bent on defending the social conquests already achieved, such as the planned economy, that it would not tolerate any attempt to return to the horrors of the fascism it had experienced under Horthy and under the Nazis, that its movement was in the channels of political revolution; that is, the building of a workers state freed from the bureaucratic abominations of Stalinism. Later events showed that the peasantry gave open sympathy and even direct support to the workers.

The Moscow bureaucrats were aware that a successful workers revolution in Hungary would immediately sweep across the borders into the rest of Eastern Europe and into the Soviet Union. They realized that the revolutionary forces were beyond control by Nagy or any other sector of the native Hungarian bureaucracy. The masses had taken matters into their own hands, were exercising their sovereign will, and had begun the process of elevating a completely new leadership out of their own insurgent ranks. Moscow, therefore, prepared to abandon the Nagy regime and resort to Soviet tanks as they had in the case of East Germany and Poznan.

On October 26, just three days after being co-opted into office, Nagy announced formation of a new "peoples front" government that would include leaders of former peasant parties. He abolished collectivization of the land,

promised free elections and a "multi-party" state. On October 29 he demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Budapest. However, when reinforced Soviet troops again moved toward Budapest November 1, Nagy repudiated the Warsaw pact, declared Hungarian neutrality and appealed to the United Nations for guarantees and defense.

In a showdown crisis, this typical Stalinist bureaucrat showed his fears both of the rank and file of the Communist Party and of the working-class fighters on the barricades. He sought support among capitalist restorationist elements and their foreign imperialist backers. Nagy's course played directly into the hands of world imperialism which had already been seeking to convert the turmoil to its own advantage by picturing the revolt against Stalinism as a revolt against the planned economy of Hungary. It made such counter-revolutionary figures as Cardinal Mindszenty appear to the outside world to have much greater weight than they actually possessed. For a time it confused the picture enough so that in the absence of a revolutionary socialist party it could appear that the aims of the revolution itself were those implicit in the politics of Nagy.

Above all, Nagy's announcements and actions gave invaluable material to the Stalinist propaganda machine, which, as in the case of Eastern Germany and Poznan, slandered the Hungarian revolution as "fascist," "imperialist-inspired," and a reversion to "Horthyism."

The truth is that some 11 years after the Hungarian workers welcomed the Soviet forces as liberators of their country, Moscow's power lay shattered in Hungary. The puppet Nagy regime was torn between the restorationist forces and the proletarian revolution. The Communist Party of 800,000 members had suffered an internal explosion, virtually the entire rank and file and the lower stratum of the apparatus going over to the cause of the working class. The workers, together with the students, intellectuals and the Hungarian army, were in full-scale revolt and the peasants began supplying them with food. Workers Councils had appeared on a national scale and had begun to formulate revolutionary demands. These offered powerful confirmation of the validity of the program of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy long advocated by world Trotskyism.

(2) Stalin's heirs had already made their decision. The second stage of the Hungarian revolution opened on November 4, three days before the thirty-ninth anniversary of the 1917 Russian revolution. As part of the Nagy government, lured into a trap by a promise of negotiations, were placed under arrest, Moscow ordered the overwhelming military forces that had been concentrated during the previous week on Hungary's frontiers to move on Budapest. These troops, spearheaded by some 5,000 tanks, appear to have been carefully selected from among the most backward sections of the Soviet armed forces. They had been lied to, being told that their task was to defend Hungary against a bourgeois counter-revolution inspired by American imperialism.

The Spirit of the Paris Commune

The blood bath began. Once and for all, Stalin's heirs demonstrated the idiocy of any belief in the possibility of their "self-reform." They showed in the harshest way possible the correctness of Trotsky's view that they resemble a ruling class in the tenacity with which they cling to power and the special privileges it assures.

What was remarkable was the heroic resistance of the Hungarian people, headed by the working class, in this unequal military contest. Their spirit was that of the Paris Commune which served to inspire generations of class-conscious workers. Though overwhelmed by vastly superior military force, the workers did not end their political resistance. They refused to accept the Kadar regime that rode into power on Soviet tanks.

(3) The third stage of the Hungarian revolution is extraordinarily instructive. All the figures of the Nagy regime vanished from the scene; some of them in Stalinist hands were either shot or imprisoned; some took refuge abroad; Nagy himself took asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy only to be later tricked into capture by the Stalinist invaders. The weight of the restorationist elements

that participated in the revolution for their own reactionary ends turned out to be in inverse proportion to the noise they inspired in the capitalist press abroad. The real power proved to be with the working class, organized in Workers Councils.

Backed though it is by the might of the world's greatest army, the arrogant Kadar regime finds itself forced nevertheless to deal in all questions pertaining to the rule of the country with the very antagonist it sought to crush, the Hungarian workers. The workers won this position by refusing to place confidence anywhere except in their own elected Workers Councils.

The blood bath — to the consternation of the Kremlin, we may be sure — failed to prostrate the working class or to drown its Workers Councils. The new leadership of the Hungarian workers, born in struggle only a few weeks before, continued the general strike, continued to hold meetings, to issue militant leaflets, to protest the arrests and deportations, to organize new mass demonstrations, and to repeat the demands which the workers had raised in the early days of the revolution — withdrawal of Soviet troops and the institution of workers democracy. The central demand of the general strike was for legal recognition of the Workers Councils as permanent political bodies with sole authority in the management of industry.

The role of the Workers Councils after the armed conflict was over demonstrated in the most convincing way that the Kadar regime has no base of support in the populace whatsoever. All the Stalinist propaganda about saving Hungary from "fascism" is thus shorn of the slightest shred of plausibility. Moscow's real target, as the whole world can see in the relation between the Kadar regime and the Workers Councils, turned out to be the rebellious Hungarian workers.

The capacity of the Workers Councils to sustain themselves in face of the worst military and police terror is a lesson that will not be lost upon the workers throughout the Soviet bloc. The Hungarian workers made a priceless discovery in the course of their struggle — they discovered the form through which the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy will be organized. The form is the same as that previously used by the Russian workers in 1905 and 1917 against Czarism — Soviets or Workers Councils. This form provides an arena in which a revolutionary party can develop with extraordinary speed.

Whatever the immediate fate of the Hungarian Workers Councils, they will undoubtedly prove to be the greatest single contribution made by the Hungarian workers to the political revolution in the Soviet sphere that will finally accomplish the aim they have so courageously and brilliantly advanced.

The Need for a Marxist Party

The absence of a revolutionary socialist party was costly to the Hungarian workers. This is not to say that they can be held responsible for its absence. As experience has shown, it is not easy to build such a party under the totalitarian rule of Stalinism. Lacking conscious revolutionary-socialist leadership, the Workers Councils failed to assert their power. They continued to negotiate for concessions from Moscow's puppets. This proved disastrous. While the leadership of the Workers Councils wasted time in futile negotiations with figures who had no real power within the country, the Stalinist counter-revolution mobilized its repressive forces.

(a) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to proclaim clearly the aims of the revolution: national freedom and workers' democracy; the overthrow of the bureaucratic caste and the vesting of power in the Workers Councils.

(b) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to systematically issue revolutionary appeals to the workers of all Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, explaining the aims of the revolution and asking for socialist solidarity in the common struggle.

(c) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to systematically appeal to the Soviet forces, reminding them of their heritage in the 1917 revolution, of their socialist convictions, and of their own deep-seated grievances against the Kremlin.

(d) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to turn toward the workers in the capitalist countries for help in preventing the imperialists from taking advantage of the situation.

(e) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to arouse every section of the populace to its stake in the victory and failed to mobilize the nation for all-out military defense.

(f) The leadership of the Workers Councils made a fatal mistake in taking for good coin the promises of the Moscow bureaucrats to reform and to end the occupation.

(g) The leadership of the Workers Councils failed to

(Continued on page 3)

New York Symposium "Can the Left Unite?"

Speakers:

Farrell Dobbs
Socialist Workers PartyA. J. Muste
Fellowship of ReconciliationMax Shachtman
Independent Socialist LeagueJohn T. McManus
National GuardianChairman:
Clifford T. McAvoy

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 8 P. M.

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Contribution: \$1.00

Auspices: Socialist Unity Forum

... SWP on Crisis of Stalinism in East Europe

(Continued from page 2)

anticipate Moscow's readiness to drown the revolution in blood and were therefore caught by surprise when the counter-revolutionary attack came.

Had the Workers Councils asserted their power, as they would have under a revolutionary-socialist leadership, this would have signified the doom of the Moscow bureaucracy, for their political appeals and resolute actions at the head of the revolution would have resounded through the length and breadth of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, bringing the masses to their feet with the blazing conviction that this marked the return to Lenin, the regeneration of the workers state.

The Hungarian revolution has already done much to assemble, within the Workers Councils and among the revolutionary students and soldiers, the cadres of a revolutionary socialist party. No other interpretation is possible of the breaking apart of the Hungarian Communist Party and of the refusal of the Hungarian workers to place confidence in either the Nagy or Kadar regimes. On top of this, the appearance of Workers Councils as the organized form of the political revolution demonstrates the readiness of the Hungarian workers to seek out and build adequate forms of political expression. The most necessary of all is the party, which brings conscious leadership to its highest expression. How bright the prospects are for the rise of a revolutionary-socialist party among the workers of the Soviet bloc can be judged from many of the slogans that appeared in the Hungarian revolution. These slogans were the products of thinking minds, who, perhaps without even knowing it as yet, came to Trotskyist conclusions.

In opposition to this heartening tendency, it is now clear that the Soviet bureaucracy is shifting toward reliance on the armed forces as the main instrument of its rule. We now have three instances in which the principal means of repression was the army — Eastern Germany, Poznan, and Hungary. This signifies increasing importance for the generals in the top bureaucracy, a reactionary development. As Trotsky foresaw, a shift by the bureaucracy away from reliance on the secret political police has been accompanied by an increasingly repressive role for the army. The exhaustion of the efficacy of police terror has brought Stalin's heirs to the use of tanks and machine guns.

This expedient, however, will not save the bureaucracy. The social composition of the Soviet armed forces corresponds far more closely to that of the country as a whole than the secret political police. It is far more vulnerable to revolutionary contagion than the police, as all experience testifies, including the latest experience in Hungary. Moreover, the new climate in the Soviet Union, the mass unrest and desire for change, has its reflection in the armed forces. Already, far and wide among the Soviet soldiers, we may be sure, the story of the blood-letting in Hungary is arousing wrath and revulsion against Stalin's heirs. Finally, even if the Soviet military should prove solid enough to be used in another Poznan or Hungary, the entrance of the Soviet proletariat on the arena of political revolution will speedily win over the ranks of the army and disintegrate the Kremlin's repressive power.

Why has Eastern Europe rather than the Soviet Union become the scene of the first major revolutionary assault against the Stalinist dictatorship?

Kremlin Choked Economic Growth

Contrary to the boasts of Stalinist propaganda, socialism has not been under construction in Eastern Europe. It is true that the preliminary steps were taken by bureaucratic-military means after promulgation of the Truman Doctrine. The landlords and capitalists were expropriated and planned economy was introduced. Although these measures brought economic progress to Eastern Europe, they were at the same time utilized to serve the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy at the expense of Eastern Europe. Had the economies of these countries been integrated through a general plan on an equal basis with that of the Soviet Union, and had they been fitted together in an Eastern European Socialist Federation, there might have been some truth in the contention that these countries were moving toward socialism.

However, the fact is that the Kremlin arbitrarily kept each country locked within its national frontiers and its economy just as arbitrarily locked to that of the Soviet Union. The economic policies imposed by bureaucratic decree undermined the living standards and working conditions of the masses. The exploitation of these countries has thus been analogous to that of imperialist exploitation of colonial lands. This alone tends to give an added revolutionary impulsion to the workers of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the workers have revolutionary traditions, including a record of socialist struggle under fascist or semi-fascist regimes. These traditions are continually revitalized by the mere fact of living under a foreign rule of totalitarian character. To this must be added the pressure of the peasantry who are aware of the post-war recovery in the neighboring lands of Western Europe and see no reason why they should not have a better standard of living.

The same factors that made Eastern Europe the initial arena of the political revolution also determined its initial form. The Hungarian revolution took the form of a national uprising against the Kremlin bureaucracy. It placed national independence — the withdrawal of Soviet occupying troops — at the head of the list of demands. Freedom from Kremlin control is essential to the creation of autonomous working-class organizations. It is also essential to the revision of economic planning in favor of the workers.

By placing itself at the head of the national independence struggle, the working class was able to make a firm alliance with other strata of the populace — especially the peasantry. Indeed, it is only under the leadership of the working class that the century-old national problem of Eastern Europe can be solved and the basis laid for voluntary association of each national unit in a broader socialist federation of nations.

The bureaucratic-military way in which the property overturn took place in Eastern Europe created an additional problem in barring the masses from making a clean sweep of the old propertied classes.

Political Revolution in Poland



Pictured above are a part of the 250,000 workers and students who massed in Warsaw during Poland's "October Revolution" against Kremlin domination. It was the power of this mass movement throughout Poland that compelled Gomulka to defy the Khrushchev regime.

In Hungary, these bourgeois elements appeared in the national independence movement, hoping to steer it back to capitalism. The triumph of the Hungarian revolution against the Kremlin would have cleared the field for a battle between the Workers Councils and these restorationist forces. Proof of this can be gathered from the fact that many Workers Councils were aware from the beginning of the restorationist danger and sounded the alert.

The advantage in this struggle would have been on the side of the working class. The weight of the working class organized in its Councils and in emerging independent unions; the socialized property foundations associated with working-class power; the attachment of the workers to these foundations; the clear signs of revolutionary working-class ferment throughout the Soviet orbit; the growing weakness of world capitalism and its lack of appeal for the masses — all these favored a socialist victory. A capitalist restoration is conceivable only through the crushing of the organized force of the working class by imperialism. This is excluded at present because the world relationship of forces is unfavorable to such an imperialist adventure.

Capitalist Reaction Strengthened

The Kremlin's repressive war against the Hungarian working class can be viewed only as an aid to capitalist restoration if it should eventually be attempted. The Kremlin aim is to atomize the working class and exclude it from control of industry. A Kremlin victory thus facilitates a primary task of the capitalist counter-revolution.

A corollary to the unfinished struggle against the bourgeois restorationists is the problem of political institutions. In every country of Eastern Europe, the Kremlin retained the framework of the old capitalist parliaments. The governments of Eastern Europe are all technically "popular fronts" based on the parliamentary system. The political revolution in each of the East European countries poses, therefore, the needs to replace the parliamentary form by the Soviet form of rule. The parliamentary form offers the most favorable opportunity for Stalinist bureaucrats and capitalist restorationists to check the revolutionary drive of the working class. The completion of the political revolution requires the elimination of this relic of the capitalist order.

The national character of the Hungarian revolution split the native bureaucracy into a wing that was totally subservient to the Kremlin (the Rakosi-Gero wing, subsequently headed by Kadar) and another wing that sought to head off the revolutionary developments by standing at the head of the mass movement (Nagy). The worker-CP members meanwhile took their place in the insurrectionary ranks of the working class, and in many key areas stood at the head of the revolution, playing important roles in creating and leading the Workers Councils.

Nagy stepped forward as the spokesman and defender of the bureaucratic caste. His short-lived regime was based on the deformed workers' state, but in seeking allies against both the masses and the Kremlin, it became a point of infiltration for restorationist elements. They favored the Nagy regime because its policies — a combination of the Stalinist popular-front program initiated by Nagy and the pro-Western orientation of the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and Social Democratic politicians — would have immensely facilitated imperialist military intervention or an eventual reactionary coup d'état.

The rise in revolutionary potential in the Soviet bloc is visible in the accelerating tempo of events. From East Germany to Poznan, three years elapsed. From Poznan to the Polish victory, less than four months. From the Polish defiance of Moscow to the Hungarian revolution, two days. The savage use of military force in Hungary will check the movement for a time, but as the lessons of the events are absorbed, a new rise should occur of even greater power. The antagonism between the masses and the bureaucratic caste remains explosive. The question now is whether the bureaucracy can find a new equilibrium in its relations with the rebellious peoples.

The political cost to the Kremlin of putting down the Hungarian workers by armed force has created a crisis in Soviet policy. The concessions granted the Gomulka regime in Poland are sufficient evidence of sobering second thoughts on the efficacy of military violence. The notion of some bourgeois commentators that the suppression of the Hungarian revolution signals a change by the Kremlin to exclusive reliance on repressive measures is wrong. The Kremlin will find itself compelled to grant new concessions. Revolutionary struggles win concessions and reforms as by-products. This holds true for the Hungarian revolution as in the case of any other similar struggle. But new concessions will only provide fresh fuel for the fires of revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy is thus caught in a dilemma from which there is no escape. It happens

to be their destiny to preside over the death agony of Stalinism.

The repercussions of the Hungarian revolution were world-wide. One reason for the enormous publicity was the tender solicitude the imperialist powers showed for the fate of the Hungarian people as Britain and France launched their blitzkrieg on Egypt. As always, the guardians of the capitalist system sought to take advantage of this fresh crime of Stalinism, utilizing it to smear the idea and program of socialism; and the Kremlin butchers did much to facilitate the imperialist objectives.

The Eisenhower administration repeated the pattern it followed in the East German uprising, at first posing as the patron saint of the rebels and then permitting its ardor to flag as the class character of the revolutionary upsurge became clear. In East Germany, Dulles' benevolent interest in the uprising reached its high point in the Packages from Eisenhower campaign. In the case of Hungary, the State Department had to go further, admitting token numbers of refugee immigrants from the strife-torn country. It was noteworthy that as the weakness of the Kadar regime and the strength of the Workers Councils became manifest, the excitement of the would-be capitalist "liberators" over their prospects in the Hungarian revolution died down. They advised against armed uprisings. As in East Germany, they found a genuine workers' revolution not to their liking even though directed against Stalinism. The reason for that is plain enough. "Liberation" through imperialist intervention is one thing. Workers revolution is a different matter.

Socialist solidarity with the heroic Hungarian rebels has nothing in common with the hypocritical tears shed in the capitalist press by the imperialists and their agents. Socialist support of the Hungarian revolution rests on furtherance of the class struggle at home. A militant worker in an American plant who wants to help the Hungarian fighters stands at opposite poles from the Big Business publication that seeks to convert Cardinal Mindszenty into a new Horthy. After discounting the Catholic-inspired demonstrations and the capitalist editorial rhetoric, the hard fact remains that proletarian sympathy for the Hungarian bid for freedom was profound. Workers were stirred everywhere. The Stalinist bureaucracy, in their eyes, stood discredited as never before.

The effect of the Hungarian events on the world-wide crisis of Stalinism was immediate and devastating. Already profoundly disturbed by the revelations about Stalin at the Twentieth Congress, rank and file Communists gagged at the request to swallow the suppression of the Hungarian revolution by Stalin's heirs. Wasn't the shooting of Hungarian workers evidence of the same "paranoia" that the late dictator was said to have suffered from in the final decades of his rule? And how explain the revolt in the first place, a decade after "socialism" was launched in Hungary and three years after Stalin was laid away? Large-scale resignations from Stalinist organizations occurred on an international scale. Rifts appeared in the lower ranks of the apparatus and prominent figures who had long been in the Stalinist orbit moved away.

The major planes of cleavage in world Stalinism were described in the April resolution of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party as follows: In the top bureaucracy two main formations are apparent, an extreme right wing desirous of making its peace with liberal capitalism and an ossified grouping that is hopelessly committed, as a vena agency of the Soviet bureaucracy, to defending everything that comes out of Moscow. In the rank and file considerable demoralization is evident. Ranging from apathy to doubts about Marxism itself, the main tendency is to drop into inactivity and withdraw from politics. However, many members are seeking their way to firm Marxist ground. Their willingness to start fresh, to examine the programs and findings of other working-class political tendencies is a healthy indication that the break-up of Stalinism will lead to a resurgence of revolutionary socialism.

This analysis has been confirmed. The Hungarian events served to speed up developments in the Communist Parties along the lines predicted and to precipitate deci-

sions that were still in the making. More is yet to come as the enormity of Moscow's counter-revolutionary stand sinks in.

The Hungarian revolution and its suppression added new issues to those already causing fissures in the Stalinist movement. First of all, fresh differences cropped up between Moscow and Belgrade. The Kremlin admitted "errors" and "mistakes" in the past in Hungary, which it blamed on the Rakosi-Gero leadership, but argued that the use of Soviet troops in Hungary was justified to save the country from "fascism." Tito blamed the Kremlin for the errors in Hungary and included as an "error" the first use of Soviet troops after Nagy took office. Tito especially scored the Kremlin for its slowness in carrying out promised reforms. But he agreed that the Kremlin was right in using troops the second time to smash the revolutionary uprising.

It is obviously in Tito's interest as head of Yugoslavia to favor greater independence for the Eastern European countries now under Moscow's domination. To advance this aim he seeks points of support among the leaders in Moscow and in the Eastern European countries. It is just as obviously in Tito's interest as head of the Yugoslav bureaucracy to side with Stalin's heirs in suppressing a proletarian revolution which might leap across the Yugoslav border. Tito played a despicable role during the Hungarian revolution. He did not lift a finger to help the fighters and ended up by condemning and slandering them. When the cards were down, the fact that Tito represents simply a variety of Stalinism proved decisive — despite his differences with Khrushchev & Co. Because of his critical attitude and his reputation for independence, Tito's arguments in defense of Moscow were far more effective than anything that came out of Moscow itself.

To the right of Tito stands the leadership of the French Communist Party which gratefully thanked Moscow for all the numerous blessings it brought Hungary.

Continuation of Russian Revolution

To the left is the Gomulka regime, which cautiously criticized the "errors" of the Kremlin and just as cautiously, but significantly, refrained from justifying the use of Soviet troops in Hungary.

What stands out in the most glaring way is the simple fact that in the entire Stalinist movement not a single outstanding leader anywhere in the world took a stand in defense of the Hungarian revolution. Not one! They simply repeated variations of the arguments advanced by Moscow and Belgrade. It would be difficult to find more convincing proof of the decay of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the lack of reality in any policy based on the hope of their self-reform.

The Hungarian revolution has revealed with crystal clarity the source of danger to the progressive social structure of the Soviet Union and the East European countries. The danger comes from world capitalism on the one hand, and from the bureaucratic caste on the other. The evidence is now conclusive that the revolution of the Hungarian workers is a continuation of the Russian revolution of October 1917. In their aspirations, their conscious program and their organized action, the Hungarian workers are deepening and extending the social conquests of the Russian Revolution and are striking powerful blows at the bureaucratic obstacle to its extension.

The Hungarian revolution is thus a living proof of the Trotskyist thesis that the best defense of the Soviet Union is the extension of the workers revolution. The Hungarian revolution constitutes this type of defense in a double sense; it sparks revolutionary forces within the Soviet Union itself and at the same time contributes enormously to clearing the way for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in the West.

By its exposure of the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism the Hungarian revolution has further dissipated the baneful influence of Stalinism among the socialist minded workers of the world. This has opened new possibilities for the regroupment of the revolutionary vanguard under the banner of Leninism and Trotskyism.

U.S. Marines vs. George E. Shibley

By Della Rossa

The ruthless and vindictive powers of military court procedure and punishment have reached out into the civilian world and are claiming a prominent Southern California attorney as victim.

The attorney, George E. Shibley, of Long Beach, was convicted in 1954 of "conspiring to steal" a worthless copy of a military court record — a record to which he had ready legal access and therefore had no reason to steal. Last November, the U.S. Supreme Court refused for a second time to review his conviction, and unless he wins in a new court action instituted, Jan. 7, by his attorneys, Shibley will have to begin serving a three-year prison term.

It is clear from the facts of the case presented in a pamphlet, *The Bar and the Brass*, issued by the Shibley Defense Committee, that the lawyer was framed on trumped-up charges. His real "crime" was to challenge and expose the brutal injustice meted out by military brass to enlisted men. The case began on July 17, 1952 when Marine Sergeant John R. Bennette of the Service Squadron at El Toro Marine base in Southern California was arrested for giving rides in his automobile to fellow Marines. He was charged with "interfering with private enterprise."

Sergeant Bennette requested the appointment of a competent military lawyer of his own selection. (This was his right under the Uniform Code of Military Justice enacted by Congress in 1950.) The request was refused. Bennette's wife prevailed upon Shibley, a civilian lawyer known in the area as being friendly to trade union and civil liberties cases to intercede with the El Toro authorities to grant Bennette the rights due him under the new code. The brass hats still refused.

Shibley then wrote to the Marine Commandant in Washington, D. C. charging the Commanding General and his subordinates at El Toro with abuses in the administration of the new Code of Military Justice. The complaint resulted in a "court of inquiry," which in typical brass hat fashion, was set up by and composed completely of subordinates of the very commander against whom the complaint was filed.

This phoney "court of inquiry" ordered Shibley brought before it by Marine Military Police. Shibley refused to answer confidential questions. (He was

held under armed guard for five days and not allowed counsel during the questioning.) The attorney was then indicted for "contempt of a military court." The trial on this charge in a Federal civil court resulted in a jury verdict of not guilty. Both the Marine brass hats and the Federal judge were furious with this verdict, and the judge berated the jurors, in unprecendented harsh terms before dismissing them.

In the meantime, Shibley had received in the mail, wrapped as a Christmas present, a photographed copy of the transcript of the questioning by the "court of inquiry." After his acquittal on the contempt charge, he was indicted for "conspiracy to steal" the transcript. He was convicted in January 1954 on the basis of his possession of the copy, and on the testimony of a "private detective." Charles Thompson, who actually took the copy from the Marine base offices. (Thompson has a long record of arrests and convictions for "criminal sexual degeneracy," and had once been committed to

an insane asylum.) Thompson was given a suspended sentence, and Shibley was sentenced to three years in prison.

A defense committee was formed which has tried, so far without success, to get the case retried or reviewed. Sergeant Bennette (who was finally cleared as a result of Shibley's work in his behalf, but who was forced to "resign" from the Marine Corps as a result of harassment by the brass) is national chairman of the committee. A number of leading members of the California Bar Association have supported Shibley's defense, as has the Int'l Longshoremen's Union.

The Shibley case involves such key civil-liberties questions as (1) right of civilians to be free from arrest by the military; (2) right of all citizens, including armed-forces members, to lawyers of their own choosing; (3) right of attorneys not to be harassed for legitimate efforts in behalf of clients. To aid in the case write to Shibley Defense Committee, P.O. Box 784, Long Beach 2, Calif.

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The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

U. S. Imperialism Takes Over

The Negro people should look with great distrust upon current plans of U.S. imperialism to "fill the power vacuum" in the Middle East.

This distrust should be based not only on the sympathy that one people fighting for its freedom feels for another people engaged in a similar battle — as the people of the Middle East certainly are — but on self interest. Millions of people in the Arab countries of the Middle East — from Morocco to Iraq — are colored people. Their subjection by imperialism aids racism throughout the world and particularly in the U.S. Their victory and independence conversely weakens racism all over.

Significantly Washington's plans for a protectorate over the "Middle East" openly stretches geography to cover a large part of Negro Africa — including Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. What does this mean? What are the State Department's aims? Do these colonies stand in danger of "Soviet aggression"? Of course not. No more than the Arab countries do. They are victims of aggression, it is true, but the colonialist aggression of the capitalist powers. The people of Kenya, as is well known rose in revolt against virtual enslavement by British settlers. They have been suppressed with a brutality that far exceeds the terrible repression visited upon revolutionary Hungary by the Kremlin.

Does U.S. imperialism intend to protect the people of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika or to protect British imperialist control of these peoples? To ask the ques-

tion is to give the answer. It should not be forgotten that the British imperialists in Kenya pretend to see a connection between the Mau Mau revolt and "Russian Communism," as do the French imperialists with the independence fight of the Algerian people.

Such "justification" for putting down independence revolts in colonies may be used by U.S. imperialism — they fit in very well with Washington's official excuse for its military takeover in the Middle East and East Africa.

Eisenhower's action, it is said, is necessary because a "power vacuum" has developed in the Middle East. What is meant is that the old-time imperialist rulers of this part of the world have been revealed by their ignominious failure to bulldoze Egypt as no longer capable of dominating the Middle East. Let the people of the Middle East fill the "power vacuum" themselves. They don't want U.S. imperialism over them any more than they wanted the British and French. And as for the colonies of East Africa, let the U.S. stay out — then perhaps the oppressed people of these colonies can develop a "power vacuum" by chasing out their white-supremacist slave masters.

This is the attitude that all supporters of African independence should take. U.S. capitalism, the powerhouse of world reaction, is revealing itself as the successor of colonialism in those parts of the world that Britain and France can no longer crush and the reinforcer of colonialism where the grip of Anglo-French power is slipping.

A N. Y. Christmas Carol

By Ben Stone

Buried in the back pages of the Dec. 11 New York Post was the story of 100 tenants in the Bronx who brought the landlord to court with a complaint of providing inadequate heat.

Magistrate Kaplan was the judge in the case, and at the conclusion of the day's hearing, he adjourned the case until the accuracy of Health Inspector Harvey Duglatch's thermometer could be checked. And thereby hangs the tale.

At the hearing, the health inspector testified that he took numerous tests and found the heat adequate in some apartments and inadequate in others. "The reason for this," he testified, "is because there is only one boiler for five buildings, and there isn't sufficient pressure to reach all the buildings."

Six tenants took the stand, and each testified that in all the tests taken in

their apartments the readings ranged from 40 to 55 degrees. The law requires the temperature to be at least 68.

The health inspector was sharply cross-examined by the attorney for the landlord, and he conceded that he could not swear to the accuracy of his thermometer. Magistrate Kaplan thereupon dismissed the case.

More than 55 tenants who were in court all day told reporters of bundling up in sweaters, keeping the stoves going and buying electric heaters in their efforts to keep warm.

It would appear that what was necessary in this case was not to check the accuracy of the health inspector's thermometer, but to inspect:

- (1) The size of the magistrate's brain.
 - (2) The size of the landlord's heart.
- Shades of Scrooge!

THE MILITANT ARMY

This week's mail brought a good number of renewals from readers who took an introductory subscription during the presidential election campaign. From Chicago a reader writes, "My subscription expires in February, and I am enclosing \$1.50 now so that there will not be any delay in the delivery of the paper. I enjoy the paper very much and hope 1957 brings the most wanted desires to you and mankind here in the U.S., in Hungary and all over the world."

From St. Paul we received a renewal with the following note, "Every day when I get home from work the first question I ask is, 'Has the Militant arrived?' It's the finest newspaper in the country." San Francisco subgetters sent in 4 subscriptions as a beginning in the local's subscription-getting contest.

The Twin Cities literature agent, Winifred Nelson, writes, "Enclosed find a year renewal to the Militant. Wednesday Jim B. went to the campus and sold 6 Militants and 2 copies of the International Socialist Review. Friday he went again and sold four additional copies of the paper. This in spite of the fact that it was exam week and the weather is cold and students don't like to unload books in the snow and dig for money. Why, then, were the sales so good? The answer is Hungary — the same reason explains our good sales at trade union meetings. In the last two weeks we have sold 40 Militants at union meetings and on campus. A woman friend of mine called me up to renew her subscription and to talk about Hungary. She said, 'I would be proud to be a Hungarian and stand up and be shot!' This woman is 62 years old, but very much inspired by the revolutionary events in Hungary."

Los Angeles International Socialist Review agent writes, "Please find enclosed \$12.75 for

Introductory Offer! A Six-Month Subscription to the Militant Only \$1

The next six months promise to be even more eventful than the past six months. The radical movement will be absorbed in discussion about the regroupment question. In February, the Communist Party will hold its convention, at which it will seek to bring its internal crisis under control. The Negro struggle in the South is taking a huge step forward, as moves are under way to coordinate the struggle in many cities against bus segregation. The Middle East will feature ever more encouraging developments of the Arab national independence struggle, while Washington's moves will be evermore ominous. Despite attempts of the Kremlin to hold the line, the working-class struggle against bureaucratic despotism and for socialist democracy will continue to unfold in the Soviet orbit. To follow all these developments, take advantage of our introductory offer, good until March 31, of a six-month subscription for only \$1.

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of the International Socialist Review and the local distributors of the magazine hope to do even better than this with the current issue.

St. Louis agent writes, "Please send us additional copies of the fall issue of the ISR. I am going to try to sell them to Militant readers. I see a likelihood of attracting other radicals including people close to or members of former members of the Communist Party."

The current issue of the ISR has an excellent lead article dealing with the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in the U.S. and is available in individual copies of bundle orders.

By Henry Gitano

The announcement that U. S. Marines, secretly dispatched to the Mediterranean area during the Suez crisis, were armed with atomic weapons should come as no surprise to those who know the nature and objectives of the wing of the armed forces. As the storm troopers of U.S. imperialism, as the elite guard that spearheads conquest of other lands, these forces are especially trained for the most brutal tasks. They are the best suited to undertake the initial use of nuclear terror in direct combat.

The role of the U. S. Marines in the history of U. S. imperialism is recorded by Captain Harry Alanson Ellsworth in 1934 in a book entitled: "180 Landings of US Marines, 1800-1934." In his introduction Ellsworth says, "The US Marines have fought protecting American lives and interests. Time after time they have been called upon to quell revolutions, whether in an incipient or advanced stage..."

A marine recruiting pamphlet, "Ready—The Fight's on Men..." boasts that "Marines... are especially trained for prompt mobilization and movement to any point or for any service they may be called upon to perform." It lists examples: "Under command of Col. Robert E. Lee, Marines captured John Brown at Harper's Ferry in 1859... a battalion of Marines landed on the island of Samar in the Philippines in 1901, pacified it, and marched through that hostile city, the first white troops to accomplish this feat... To preserve stability of government, Marines were landed in Haiti in 1915, completing their mission in that republic in 1934... You can help make history with the Marines! Simply call at the nearest recruiting station."

The Marine Corps, as the vanguard of reaction, cannot give its ranks a fighting spirit by inspiring them. It can only brutalize and regiment. Aiming to smash freedom fighters, it begins by breaking and dehumanizing its own recruits.

The Marine Corps' Way-of-Life came into national focus on April 8, 1956, when Sgt. Matthew C. McKeon, frustrated by his

platoon's lack of discipline, took a few shots of booze and led his men on a night march into a swamp tidal stream with no safety precautions. Six recruits drowned.

At the subsequent three-week trial, the sergeant's defense attorney, Emil Zola Berman, pointed out that his client "was a dedicated member of the Corps. He... was trying to accomplish [the Corps'] purpose—to make Marines. These methods require no apology, either by the Marines or Sgt. McKeon." The defendant's conduct was faithful to the barbarous Marine tradition of transforming raw recruits into professional killers, responding to orders by reflex action, unimpeded by one iota of human feeling.

The testimony at the court martial relates how Pvt. Langone was called into McKeon's room. He was slapped. Next Pvt. Maloof was called in and slapped for entering in a "slack" position. "I slapped him," the sergeant said, "to show I disapproved of his position."

McKeon also testified about his mass punishment techniques. "I figured I would take them down the swamps and show them that way. If they got a little wet and muddy it might put a little spirit into the platoon. The main thing was to take them down and the next time they would do as they were told."

The official Marine Corps' records show that McKeon was screened by Parris Island's psychiatric unit last January. The result: "Highest possible mark in motivation and hostility factors." He is a "mature, stable-appearing career Marine." McKeon suited the Marines and the Marines suited McKeon. He begged the Secretary of the Navy to let him stay in the Marines. "I don't want any other kind of career," he insisted.

Marine torture training is standard operational procedure. On Oct. 8, 1951, Life reported that drill instructors "are deliberately rough and abusive. They heap maddening indignation on the boots, demand almost impossible physical exertion and keep up a ruthless pressure 17 hours a day, seven days a week." A photo in Life pictured a collapsed recruit. The DI paraded the pla-

toon "past the inert form twice" in order "to emphasize the point that weaklings are not wanted."

The debasing camp atmosphere in the Marines was described in the Jan. 16, 1949, New York Times. "Profanity is still liberally used and nobody urges anybody to write home to mother." The recruit learns how to stick a bayonet in and how to pull it "out of an enemy's belly." The DI "roars his orders... and waves his swagger stick, demanding instantaneous almost cringing obedience."

McKeon's punishment for the death of six Marines was demotion to private and imprisonment for three months. Since then other torture methods have come to light. A former DI, Pfc. Frederick A. Renton testified on Nov. 15 that he had forced Pvt. Douglas Ploof to support "himself by his elbows and knees" for five minutes while another Marine recruit held a naked bayonet under Ploof's stomach. He also admitted ordering a group of recruits "to participate in assaults against each other and to inflict unnecessary pain and injury to themselves."

American imperialism is threatening the Asian and African masses with war, with another slaughter of revolutionary people fighting for their land and freedom. For its shock troops in these reactionary battles, American Big Business depends on the sadistically trained Marines—brutalized, numbed of any feelings. It is in these hands that are placed the first atomic tactical weapons.

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VOLUME 21

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NUMBER 2

Los Angeles SWP to Run Errol Banks in City Election

Molony Supports McDonald Against Dues Protest Group

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, Jan. 6—Steel workers in the Lackawanna area are boiled up over New York State United Steel Workers District Director Joseph Molony's full support of David J. McDonald for president of the USW. The membership is especially bitter at Molony's glowing praise of McDonald's leadership and his comment, appearing in the Jan. 3 Buffalo Evening News, that the only differences he had with McDonald were of "a personal nature."

This statement—made at a USW regional conference held in New York City of local presidents, wage committee members and staff representatives—comes less than one year after Molony fought the McDonald machine by opposing Howard Hague in a special election for International Vice President. The issue as it was then posed to the membership was whether the McDonald machine was going to hand pick the top officers of the union or whether the rank-and-file had something to say about it.

JUST PERSONAL

Molony ran his campaign around the slogans of democracy and freedom for the ranks to participate in the affairs of top leadership. The ranks were told that the life of the union and its members hinged on this vital issue. Yet Molony now states that it was only "a personal disagreement... never on matters of fundamental policy of our union." The more conscious elements at that time knew that the Molony-Hague fight was a power struggle between two un-

principled cliques and predicted that union policy would remain unchanged regardless of who won.

Molony's campaign fired up the rank and file in this heavily concentrated steel area by his posing as the man from the mills who knew the kind of leadership the men needed. Molony and his associates promised "none of these arm-and-arm tours with company officials, but bargaining at arms length." This was in reference to a trip McDonald made with Benjamin Fairless, then chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, a couple of years ago at a time when steel workers were being hit by speed-up and layoffs. It was no wonder that the majority in this area rolled behind the Molony nomination.

All 13 locals of the steel union serviced by the International in the Lackawanna area nominated Molony. Meetings were organized, leaflets distributed, motorcades formed and representatives sent into McDonald territory to win supporters for the Molony campaign, the first of its kind in the history of the USW union. Molony's defeat was regarded as their own defeat by most of the rank and file in Lackawanna. Now the support for McDonald, at a time when McDonald's policies have continued to embitter the membership, shows Molony's true colors.

WHO ARE TRAITORS?

The recent settlement after a five week strike has hung a three year no-strike contract around the necks of the steel workers. Already what few gains were made have been cut down by

price hikes and insurance increases. To add the last straw, McDonald forced a \$2 a month dues increase and then boosted his own salary to \$50,000 per year, along with raises for other top officials of the USW.

Molony now states in reference to support for the dues increase: "To do less would be traitorous." According to Mr. Molony, then, there are about 25,000 "traitors" in the Lackawanna area, for there is unanimous feeling against this kind of dues increase. The word about the opposition slate put up by the Dues Protest Committee has spread from mouth to mouth throughout the union. ("Support Don Rarick for president" because he is opposed to McDonald and the dues increase. And this despite the fact that the ranks know nothing about Rarick except what they read in the newspapers.

The Rarick group in the Dues Protest movement has limited its program to revoking the dues increase and the five dollar assessment, and reducing the president's salary. It has indicated its unwillingness to use the campaign to give the rank-and-file steelworkers the final say in all the important issues that confront them, such as complete democratization of the union down to the shop steward level. Nevertheless, this campaign sets a precedent of opposition in presidential elections and will give the rank-and-file an opportunity to air their grievances against the McDonald-Molony machine and express their opposition to it.



ERROL BANKS

Rulings on Wellman And Sacher Hit at The Bill of Rights

By Harry Ring

The opening of the new year has been marked by new assaults on the Bill of Rights. The Federal Court of Appeals on Jan. 3 upheld the contempt-of-congress conviction of attorney Harry Sacher and Lloyd Barenblatt, a former instructor at Vassar College. Then, on Jan. 4, the Board of Veterans Appeals upheld the Veterans Administration's Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures which had cut off the disability pension of Michigan Communist Party leader Saul Wellman after his 1954 conviction under the Smith Act.

Sacher and Barenblatt had been convicted for refusing to answer questions as to alleged membership in the Communist Party before the McCarthy committee. Sacher has been a special target of the witch hunt since his participation in the defense of the first Communist Party Smith Act victims in 1949.

Both the Sacher and Wellman decisions demonstrate that the basic premises of the witch hunt remain fully operative. One of the three judges who handed down the decision against Sacher joined, in a decision, Dec. 21, reversing the conviction of author Harvey O'Connor who had also correctly refused to answer McCarthy's questions as to his political associations. In the O'Connor decision, the court followed the now consistent pattern of curbing individual cases of witch-hunt injustice by essentially technical rulings which carefully avoid the basic constitutional issues involved. By such subterfuge the door was left open for the present decision in the Sacher and Barenblatt cases.

The VA has employed the same tactics. Last year it cut off the pension of the legless veteran James Kutcher because of his association with the Socialist Workers Party. Faced with a powerful protest, the VA restored Kutcher's pension, but in doing so, it laid the ground for such reactionary decisions as the present one on Wellman.

In retreating on the technicalities while clinging to its basic weapons, the witch hunters have also been directing the brunt of their reactionary decisions against those associated with the Communist Party. This fact underscores the need for the defense of all witch-hunt victims, including the Communist Party.

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LOS ANGELES, Jan. 4—Errol Banks, a packinghouse worker, today filed his declaration to run for Mayor of Los Angeles. "Although this is a non-partisan campaign," Mr. Banks states, "I have been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and will campaign on their program."

"As a socialist I am the only candidate for Mayor who stands undeservedly for the interests of the working people."

"I will represent the working class fight against the capitalist system's cruel and devastating wars, its economic depressions, and its oppressions against minority peoples."

"I believe that the working people and the minorities must break with the capitalist class, its political parties and candidates."

"If elected mayor I will attempt to make Los Angeles a 100% union town. I'm for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay so that workers will not be penalized by the advance of automation."

"I will oppose all thought control laws, such as the Smith Act and the McCarran Act and will attempt to abolish all loyalty oaths."

"I am for the full economic, social and political equality of minority peoples, for an effective Fair Employment Practices Act, for complete integration in the L. A. Fire Department, all city jobs, and against all forms of 'racial zoning'."

Mr. Banks was a candidate for U. S. Senate in 1954. He was educated at New York University and received a state certificate in accounting from Sawyer College in Los Angeles. He is now affiliated with the Packinghouse Workers Union.

... Rule 22

(Continued from page 1)

that with the pre-arranged "fight" out of the way Northern liberals and Dixiecrats would be back in harness together.

Democratic liberals had hoped to put Vice-President Nixon on the spot by forcing him to rule whether the Senate was "a continuing body" with unchangeable rules, as the Dixiecrats maintain, or a new body each two years with the consequent right to draft new rules, as the liberals maintain.

The "unanimous consent" tactic freed Nixon from the necessity of making such a ruling. However, he chose to offer an opinion on the subject. It was that the Senate could change its rules. Nixon's action is interpreted as a bid for Negro support in the next presidential campaign.

Other evidence of the pressure of the Negro voters on the politicians was the fact that 38 senators voted to change Rule 22. When Congress opened in 1955 the liberal senators broke their pledges to fight the filibuster rule — no motion was even introduced against it.

Further evidence of the Big Business politicians' awareness of the strong popular feeling for civil rights is the widespread prediction that some toothless civil rights laws will be passed.

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